1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Serving

264 [272] [415]

Normally two meals a day are eaten; one out at work; the other on the return home. Now there is a tendency to begin the day with bread and tea sugared to a syrup. Modern dishes are much used at present, but for soup the coconut cup is retained, which differs from the kava cup in being shallow, roughly cut, and thinned down.

The family usually take meals in the kitchen, sitting in a ring. After the food is laid before all, grace is said. In the house of a noble on Sundays or when there is an honored guest, meals are eaten in the house with more ceremony; the principal personage sitting at the top; the women, as a rule, not joining. Yams and taro are brought and set before each guest; the women will sit before distinguished persons and fan the food. The fish or fowl is brought in a pot covered with a banana leaf, and set down near the door. A girl pours out a little soup in a cup and it is handed up; the guests bite their yam and sip their soup alternately, and when they want more soup they throw their cup forward to be filled again; when a guest has had enough soup he turns his cup upside down. Following the serving of the soup, the pot is emptied onto a flat wooden dish, and the fish and green, or boiled fowl is distributed. Sauce is put in coconut shells and each guest holds his with one hand and picks up his fish or yam with the other. There is little conversation; everyone is busy eating.

264 565

When a nobleman has finished eating, a basin of water is passed up to him; as soon as he washes his hands the lesser people and all the women, including the wife, clap (*thombo*) slowly. For the Tui Naiau everyone claps and Randi Naiau is always careful to start the clapping; a lady of high rank would clap for her husband, but probably not for her son. This custom is called *yara mbenu* (to drag away the rubbish) in other parts of Fiji; I do not know the name in Lau; it is never done for Europeans.

The Lauans say:

> Our meals are well served in European style, whereas in Tonga every one gobbles up what he can, and the late comer gets nothing; each man helps himself straight from the oven and sits down anywhere to eat; they eat the fish first, then drink the soup to dispose of the fish quickly so that if anyone comes they say, "Oh! we are only drinking soup." In Fiji they scrape the coconut shells and keep them; in Tonga they pick up any shell, in which fowls may have been pecking, blow in it, rub it with their hands, and after using it throw it away. In Fiji at meals it appears who is noble, whereas in Tonga they sit anyhow and do not clap. In Tonga they eat yams only; they do not often have a relish as in Fiji. Therefore the Tongans who come to Lau and see Fijian food and houses have some respect for the Lauans.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

yaka wood with hinges and corners of plated silver. The coffin had been imported from Suva prior to the death of the chief, who had been ill for some time. The deceased had been dressed by near relatives in a shirt, a coat, and a kilt of Tongan tapa. The head was bare. Informants said that formerly a whale's tooth was buried with the body, but on this occasion none had been placed in the coffin.

The interior of the chief's house consisted of two rooms separated by a wooden partition. The coffin lay in the middle of the inner room on a wooden dias, 45 meters high, covered with fine mats. The floor of the room was covered with fine mats and barkcloth, and the walls and ceiling were festooned with Fijian tapa.

On the thresholds of the two doorways on the windward side of the room, fires of sandalwood burned continuously from the death to the burial. Because of the scarcity of sandalwood in Lau the wood for this purpose had been collected for years and stored in the chief's house. The fires were attended by near female relatives of the deceased, who frequently scattered powdered sandalwood about the coffin. The fragrance of sandalwood permeated the room and obliterated the odor from the corpse, which was not preserved in any way.

The walls and ceiling of the outer room were draped with long strips of Fijian tapa. Five long pieces of tapa lay in elongated, puffy piles on the floor. At the lower end of the room near the main entrance sat four women called fanners (*iri iri*). Each held a fan (*iri*) in the right hand and fanned with short, quick, rhythmic movements which, by means of a turn of the wrist, described a semicircular arc in the air. The women worked in shifts so that the fanning was continuous from death to burial.

At night a group of female relatives, called the *tonitoni*, kept watch over the body. Natives say that the purpose of the *tonitoni* is to keep away evil spirits. Women of the nobility watched in the inner room and those of the lower class in the outer room. Outside the house was brilliantly lighted with lamps placed at intervals along the walls.

The older male relatives of the deceased (*koira na tonitoni or mbota*) sat in the kava house (*vale ni yanggona*), a temporary pavilion erected near the chief's house, drinking kava day and night. Women were present in the kava circle, but middle-aged men mixed the kava by the Tongan method. The root was pounded in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle and mixed in a wooden bowl with legs which was made on Kambara. The ceremonial kava drinking continued until the tenth day after the burial when a feast called *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held. Relatives who were absent from the kava circle were fined small quantities of kava. The crowd smoked and told jokes and amusing stories, and whenever it became too noisy every member was fined a handful of kava and tobacco.

As the funeral day drew near, groups of mourners began to arrive from Lau, and even from Mbau and other parts of Fiji. As each group arrived it presented property (*i yau ni rengguirenggu*), consisting of whales' teeth, mats, and tapa in a house (the Vale Vou) in the chief's compound. The mats were carried and presented in rolls, the tapa in long, outstretched pieces, and the whales' teeth in clusters of six to ten. The gifts were received by the herald of the deceased, a man of Tanggalevu, Tumbou. Kava, made by noble women, was drunk. The root was pounded with a stone pounder on a flat stone. After the presentation ceremony the property was taken to the chief's house.

The funeral (*na tsimbulu vaka turanga*) was held on the day after I arrived. A cement vault, 3 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 3.5 meters deep, had been prepared in the chief's burial mound, called Vakanitawake, in Tumbou. The burial mound was rectangular in shape and 3 meters high. One broad side was stepped. The vault was lined with mats ornamented with bright wool borders, and the mound was fenced with tapa and wreaths. Women mourners carried long, outstretched pieces of Tonga: barkcloth and placed them on the ground to carpet a path from the door of the chief's chamber to the tomb. They seated themselves about 2 meters apart on either side of the path and bowed their heads (pl. 1, *A*).

Over the tapa carpet moved the funeral procession. The bier was carried on mats by 20 men. It was followed by colonial officials from Suva including the Governor of the

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Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information:

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *teangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit.

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys.

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

Fishing with Nets

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suzimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer

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not allowed to participate in the preparation of food for the earth oven. However, in households today, where there is a shortage of adult males, uncircumcized boys and occasionally even women help.

Usually the oldest active woman in each kitchen group directs the procuring and preparation of food to be boiled. When the group includes the mothers of both husband and wife, the husband's mother takes precedence. (As shown in table 1 and figure 3, K22, 23, 24 is supervised by 118.) When the group includes the wife and the husband's sister, the wife takes precedence if she is about the same age as the husband's sister, whereas the husband's sister takes precedence if she is older than the wife. (As shown in figure 3 and table 1, K19, 20 is supervised by 91, whereas K8, 9, 11 is supervised by 35.) The activities centering around the earth oven are directed by the oldest active man in each earth-oven group. I found no native term for the supervisor of the kitchen or of the earth oven.

The evening meal is usually eaten in the kitchen hut. An eating mat is laid on the ground, food placed on it, and the group sits around it. The highest ranking man sits at the head, the men and boys seated according to rank on his right side. The women sit on his left side, and the young girls serve.

Food from the earth oven is served on breadfruit or banana leaves or on plates of plaited coconut leaf. Large fish are placed on a wooden fish platter (*i sovasova ni ika*) and divided into portions according to rank. The head of the fish, the center of mana, goes to the highest ranking man. Soup is served in cups (*mbilo*) of half coconut shells. Eating is done with the fingers. After the meal a finger bowl of fresh water is passed first to the head of the group, then to the other members.

Fire Making

A native from the island of Kambara made fire in three minutes by the following method:

> He took a dry log of *yasiyasi*, one section (about 5 by 30 cm.) of which had been stripped of bark. He sat down and placed the log in front of him with the exposed surface on the upper side nearest him. He held a small, dry, pointed stick, 3.5 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. long, in his left hand as one holds a pencil, the right hand partly covering the left. He rubbed the pointed end along the exposed surface of the log until a groove formed in the log and wood dust collected at the end of the groove. When the wood dust began to smoke, he wound a piece of coconut reticulum into a coil and shook the smoking wood dust into the coil. He then took the coil in both hands and waved it to-and-fro until it caught fire.

For fire making *(nita)*, *waro* and *nawunawa (Cordia subcordata)* woods are preferred. Sticks are dried and stored on the beams in the lower end of the house. Fire is transported by lighting the split end of a coconut spathe and wrapping it in pandanus.

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Roasting

Roasting is a quick method of preparing food. Breadfruit is often placed whole, stem down, directly on the coals or placed on sticks across the oven pit above a fire in which stones are heated. After roasting, the skin of the breadfruit is quickly removed with a small, sharp stick. The breadfruit is ready to be eaten or be made into pudding. Wild yams and bush fruits are often roasted over an open fire in the bush. After roasting they are scraped, dipped in salt water, and eaten. 252

Boiling in Pots

Food was formerly boiled in earthenware pots (*kuro*), but now large imported iron pots are used. The fire is laid at one end of the kitchen and the pots are placed upon two iron rods above it. It is fanned with a pandanus-leaf fan (*iri*). The pots are covered with dry breadfruit leaves, which fall from the trees in the village and are gathered when needed. [415] [739]

Sweet potato and non-poisonous manioc are usually boiled in fresh water, but most of the boiling is done in coconut cream (*lolo*). Coconut cream is made as follows:

> Ripe nuts are husked by ripping the husk open at the stem end of the nut on the upturned pointed end of a husking stake (*ndoko*). The strip of husk, which has been freed, is pulled off by hand. The process is repeated until the husk has been removed. The nut is then halved by one blow from a cane knife and the flesh is grated on the tooth edged, upturned end of a piece of iron attached to a board. A person sits on the board astride the rod and grates into a wooden bowl. (Usually little girls do the grating for the kitchens.) Coconut milk is added to the gratings and the mixture is strained with a hibiscus strainer.

Salt is not manufactured in Lau. According to Tchosaia of Tokalau, formerly salt water was sometimes used for boiling. Today it is little used in pots although food is occasionally soaked or dipped in salt water before being eaten. [263]

Mboro, the daily boiled dish, is made of greens and coconut cream with or without fish. Leaves of the cabbage, the sweet potato, *mboroa sovivi* (*Ipomea gracilis*), *mbele*, pumpkin, or manioc are picked from the stems. They are placed in the pot with coconut cream and some of the coconut gratings from which the liquid has been extracted for coconut cream. Fish or shellfish, if available, are added to the greens and coconut cream, and the pot is covered with a slightly dry breadfruit leaf and boiled slowly for about two hours.

Fish or shellfish are cleaned on the beach, but scales are not removed from the fish.

Soups are popular but are not made every day. A delicious fish soup called

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 622] **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 526 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 765] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

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ward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*.

Woodwork

Wooden bowls

The islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea produce most of the wooden bowls (*kumete*). They are made only by carpenters. The bowls are cut from a solid section of greenheart with metal-bladed adzes and are polished with the point of a boar's tusk (*i kari ni kumete*). The tusk is highly valued private property inherited from father to son.

There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

FIGURE 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: a, *tanoa ntchina;* b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); c, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

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clumsy than those of the *tanoa ntchina*. The *sese ni tanoa* is used as a kava bowl also.

The *tanoa ntchina* and the *sese ni tanoa* are occasionally made with six or eight legs. Multiple-legged bowls are said to have been introduced into Lau by the *lemaki* carpenters.

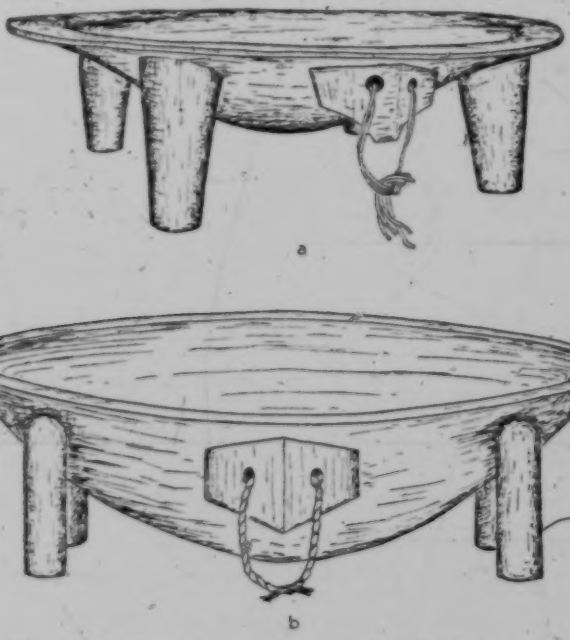

FIGURE 10.—Kava bowls: a, *tanoa ntchina* type from Kambara (B6918), made of greenheart, diameter 78 cm., leg 18.5 cm. long; b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2), diameter 48 cm., leg 16 cm. long.

The *vakalofau* differs from the *sese ni tanoa* type 2 in that the cavity at the rim is elliptical and not round. The *vakalofau* also has a deep cavity and four cylindrical legs. It is used as a container for food or coconut oil.

The *sendre* is a round bowl with flat base and usually without legs. In some *sendre* the base forms a definite angle with the side walls. The rim either extends upward to a straight edge or curves slightly outward. The rim of a *sendre* seen on Ongea was incised with a simple geometric design (fig. 11). This type of bowl is made without a lug. A small *sendre (sendre lailai)*, 60 cm. or less in diameter at the rim, is used as a food bowl and occasionally

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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FIGURE 11.—Wooden bowl, *sendre lailai* type, with incised design on rim.

as a kava bowl. A large *sendre (sendre levu)*, used for storing coconut oil, has four knob legs at the base and two knob handles, which extend outward from opposite sides of the rim. Many *sendre* were seen on Ongea but none on Fulanga.

The *vonu* (turtle) is an elliptical bowl, shaped like a turtle, with four legs and a V-shaped lug which forms the turtle's head. It is used as a container for food or on informal occasions for kava. The *vonu* type of bowl is not popular and is said to have been recently introduced into Lau.

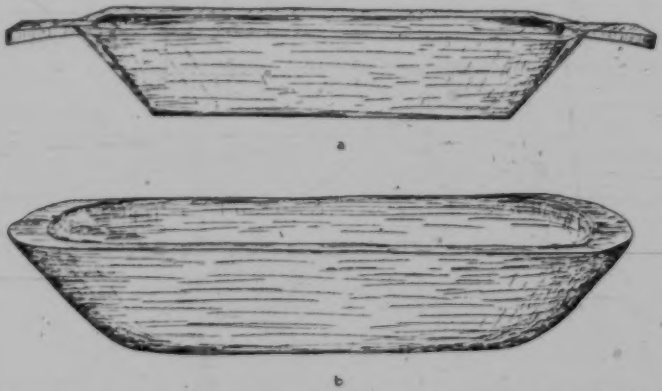

FIGURE 12.—Wooden oil bowl, *papasia* type: a, 150 cm. long, 52 cm. wide, walls 1.5 cm. thick; b, (B7938), 58 cm. long, 39 cm. wide, walls 1 cm. thick.

The *papasia* (fig. 12) is an elliptical bowl, rectangular or sectagonal at the rim. Large *papasia* often have two handles, one at each end, which jut either outward or inward. Bowls of this type were used for storing coconut oil paid in large quantities as taxes to the high chief at Lakemba under Tongan rule. They are now used as oil or food bowls.

The *i vakatoka* is a large, deep, flat-based tub (fig. 13). The cavity is four-sided with rounded corners and is almost square at the rim. Frequently

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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415 322 this type of bowl has four knob handles which project outward at the corners of the rim. It is used as a wash bowl, especially for babies.

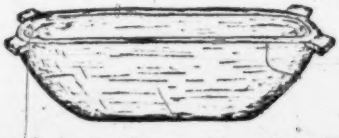

FIGURE 13.—Wooden tub, *i vakatoka* type, 96 cm. long, 73 cm. wide, 26 cm. deep, walls 1-2 cm. thick.

The *i sovasova* is a fish board of elliptical or rectangular form, used as a platter upon which to carve large fish. It is cut from a solid section of the root of the *mbau* or from *makota* or greenheart. Fish boards are usually fairly flat with a slight rim at least 1 cm. high.

HEADRESTS

352 322 Headrests (*kali*) of several types are made in Lau, especially in Muanaithake village on Fulanga. Generally only the highest ranking member of each household owns a headrest.

Informants say that the *kali thinggi* (fig. 14, *b*) is an old type of headrest. It is made of *mbau* or occasionally of greenheart, in three pieces—two legs

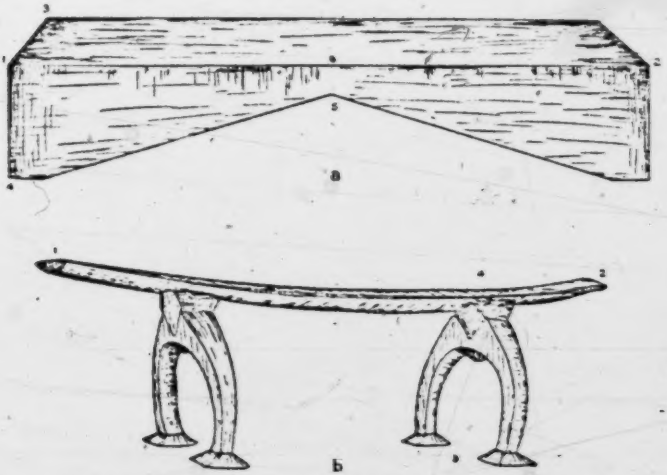

FIGURE 14.—Headrests: a, *tchiki* type, 1-2, 43 cm.; 1-3, 8 cm.; 1-4, 8 cm.; 5-6, 2 cm. b, *kali thinggi* type (B5234) made of greenheart, 1-2, 44 cm.; 3-4, 13 cm.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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322 534 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 415 272 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 411 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i sambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu*, mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekickavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama,* and *manda*. There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai*, used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto*. One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai*. An effective

.2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*nokk*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

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FLOWERS

303 langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
[824] makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

FRUIT

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

BARK

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

LEAVES

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

ROOTS

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439] Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin [832] enhances sexual attraction.

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Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni su*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark.

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni wai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically.

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

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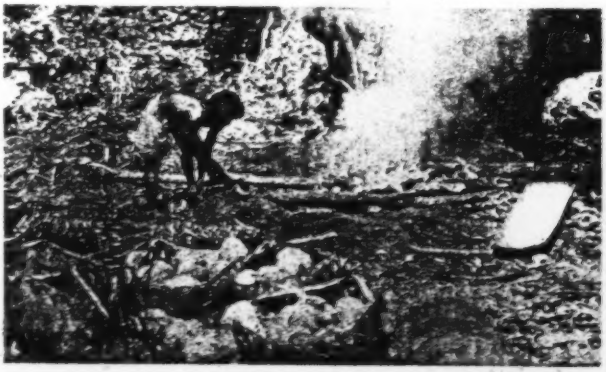

A

[516]

B

[287
516]

C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]

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A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[Facing p. 14]

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves hardly know the meaning of.

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

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hardly know the meaning of. After a little while, the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated with coloured leaves round their arms and legs, started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same; deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).